THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935.

Tuesday, the 16th September 1947.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at three of the clock, Mr. President (THE HON. SRI R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU) in the Chair.

I.—SWEARING IN OF A NEW MEMBER.

Mr. A. S. T. F. Rodriguez was sworn in.

[*Note.*—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GREETINGS TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—" Mr. President, perhaps one of the most pleasant duties which I have performed in my life will be the resolution which I, on behalf of the House, am going to move. The resolution runs as follows :—

> ' *This House sends its greetings to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of the attainment of independence for India and places on record its appreciation of the services of all those who have suffered and sacrificed in the cause of Indian freedom.*'

I do not know whether Mahatma Gandhi ever required this tribute of us; but national self-respect demands that we, the citizens of this country who are now calling ourselves free shall be absolutely ungrateful in the eyes of posterity if we do not place on record of the Houses of Legislature of this Province, the great service rendered to us by that unique and eminent personality. Most of us or every one of us would have seen him; many have heard about him. It is only in 1914 that he landed in this country and threw himself heart and soul in the cause of the service of this land. The one unique thing that he had done more than any other is that by his example, he had created in the minds of the masses of our people, men and women, high and low from Himalayas to Cape Comorin a sense of patriotism, a unique sense of patriotism not marred by jealousy, not marred by passion and not marred by anger but by that soul elevating force which he in his own way calls ' ahimsa '. It is nothing new that Mahatma Gandhi has enunciated; it has been there deep in our souls, this doctrine of ahimsa, i.e., **अहिंसा परमोधर्म. The highest maxim of** life is ahimsa; but it was left only to Mahatma Gandhi to put this great eternal principle into operation for the emancipation of our people and that in the political sphere. That politics should be fought with clean weapons and on a high moral plane is perhaps the greatest contribution which he has made not only to this land of ours but to world thought. Some might have attempted it and very few have lived to fight for it and lived to see the fruition of the labours in which they were engaged. Here we have seen and heard the soul of the nation lifted in a way that only he alone can

do, without harming any single soul, diffusing love wherever he went and getting in return the living operation of this eternal principle. It is this feature that has been a distinct contribution to politics. People much greater than I, who have lived and seen life not only in our country but in western countries and in England and have struggled for freedom in their own way, great statesmen, all over the land, have all expressed their appreciation, their adoration and their love to Mahatma Gandhi in the unique performance which he has done and which to-day stands as a contribution to the soul force of this country; and this chapter of Indian struggle has never been forgotten. And such a one as he in his abundance of his love has refused to participate in the glory of this freedom that we all enjoy. This humble man is to-day pawning his life in the streets of Calcutta and Delhi, going from place to place and from hamlet to hamlet carrying the message of peace and goodwill to the suffering millions of people, preaching love where fratricidal war is going on. I will not say it is a miracle but it is the strength of ahimsa presented in this solemn personality that has stopped that fratricidal war. Already signs are visible in Delhi that this sober influence is spreading but he will not rest content for a moment till he goes to all the places and sees all the warring elements united and bound by ties of love and brotherhood. That is what he is proposing to do and he is going to the sorrow-stricken land of the Punjab. May his influence bring peace which armed forces were unable to bring about; I am sure that the lessons that he has demonstrated all through his life through his own personality and the weapon that he carries with him in this noble mission, namely courage which non-violence alone can provide a man with, will make the warring communities see the wisdom of living and letting others live in peace. He has demonstrated that non-violence and courage and freedom from fear are more or less synonymous. He has made a great contribution to human culture and to world civilization and I am sure that posterity will assign to him a place which you and I may not give him. I do hope and trust that we, the grateful citizens of this land, by offering this humble tribute to him, are satisfying our own sense of patriotism and self-respect. I have great pleasure in moving this resolution."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. That Mahatma Gandhi is a great man and he has done yeomen service for the people of this country are unquestioned facts. It was he and Moulana Muhammad Ali that revived the people from the stupefaction to which they had been reduced by the reign of a foreign ruler. The foreign Government completely emasculated the people of this land. It was at this time that Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Muhammad Ali started the non-co-operation movement. Courage and feeling of self-confidence were infused into the people; they were prepared to look into the face of their rulers which previously they did not dare. So it is a matter of very great pleasure for us to associate on the floor of the House with a resolution of this nature forwarding our grateful

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greetings to him. Whatever might have been the differences of opinion of the Muslim community with regard to the share of political power, they have never stood in the way of Indian independence. Certain differences of opinion they have had with the Congress and for a moment they stood aloof and parted company; but they have never been against Indian independence or against Mahatma Gandhi. It is also naturally a matter of great gratification for one and all of us to see that Gandhiji had been able to put a stop to the human carnage in Calcutta. We shall hope that he will succeed in his endeavours in Delhi and in the Punjab also. With these words, Sir, I heartily and with feelings of great happiness second this resolution."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The question is—

'*That this House sends its greetings to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of the attainment of Independence by India and places on record its appreciation of the services of all those who have suffered and sacrificed in the cause of Indian Freedom*'." 3–15 p.m.

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" Sir, we have heard the speeches of the Leader of the House and also the Leader of the Opposition on this resolution. Unfortunately I belong to a group which cannot be brought under the category of Opposition. I feel this is a resolution on which every one who wishes to express himself should be given an opportunity so that people who do not follow Mahatma Gandhi or who do not agree with his political philosophy, but who still recognize the great achievement to his credit, may pay their humble tribute of admiration and express their sense of gratitude. It is a very happy thing on the part of the Leader of the House to have given notice of this resolution, and also that it should have been the first item on the agenda of to-day's meeting. We have celebrated the dawn of freedom in our own humble way. How we view this dawn of freedom and how elated we are all was seen from the function in which we took part and we owe it to you, Sir, for the great care and thought you have bestowed in organizing this function. But we would have failed to do our duty if we had not thought on this occasion of that great, as the Hon. the Leader of the House stated, puny man to whom the credit is due for the achievement on which we all rejoice to-day. On this occasion I would like to refer to two tributes from two outstanding personalities, of whom alas one is no more, who paid on different occasions their tribute of admiration for the great character, the humanitarian work and the work for national uplift which Mahatma Gandhi has undertaken. Most of us might have read the other day the statement issued by Sir Mirza Ismail, in which the following sentences occur, which show how in this hour of trial through which some parts of our country are going, the only man who could stop this massacre and destruction is, in his opinion, Mahatma Gandhi. He has said, Sir—

'*The recent massacre and destruction that has aroused such bitterness in various communities cannot be easily passed away. Perhaps the only hope of reconciliation and*

beginning of a new unity, social and political, lies in such an appeal to the feeling as can be made by the greatest of men, Mahatma Gandhi. It may be that this will be the crowning achievement of Mahatma Gandhi's life. It may be that through him and those leaders of all the communities who are animated by his spirit our people will get rid of this domination of sectional feeling and know in their hearts that claims of wider brotherhood and patriotism are strong enough.'

Sir, we witnessed on August 15th a miracle. After witnessing that, we witnessed a bigger miracle in Calcutta. Though the Hon. the Leader of the House was not agreeable to use the word 'miracle' some of us who followed the happening in Calcutta and the great change that came over Calcutta after the presence of Mahatma Gandhi feel that it was really a miracle. It was really miracle, Sir, to have stayed with Mr. Suharawardy in the disturbed area and brought about brotherhood in the place of bitterness that was prevailing in Calcutta.

" Sir, I shall quote a paragraph written in 1922 by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in the 'Survey Graphic'. Though those words were written so long ago, I feel that they are apt even to-day and it is worthwhile reading them again, as they come from one who was neither Mahatma Gandhi's follower nor one who did not hesitate to oppose Mahatma Gandhi when he thought that he (Mahatma Gandhi) was going in the wrong direction. The tribute written in 1922 and coming from such a great man is worth repeating. It is—

'*The writer of these lines is not of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teaching. He has felt near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learnt from a living example something of the nature of the duty and worship due to her. He has occasionally given some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with all its awe and grandeur.*'

" An ancient Sanskrit verse says 'Do not tell me of holy waters or of stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight.' Sir, it is to such a saintly man we are paying our respectful homage to-day."

* Dr. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, it is a great privilege to pay a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. He undoubtedly is the greatest living man to-day, and this House is paying a tribute to the Prince of Peace who not only has preached but also practised the gospel of love and the gospel of non-violence in his life. Let us all pray that his mission may be fulfilled, and that he may live to see this mission fulfilled in this country."

Sri C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR ;—" தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்த சபையின் முன் இப்பொழுது பிரேரேபிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை

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நான் முழு மனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். மாகாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் ரொம்ப பெரியவர் என்று சொல்வது போதாது. அவர் ஒரு பெரிய அவதார புருஷர். புத்தபிரானுக்குப் பிறகு அவதரித்தவர்களில் இவரைப்போல் வேறு ஒருவரும் இல்லை என்று உறுதியாகச் சொல்லலாம். அப்பேர்ப்பட்ட பெரிய மகான் அவர் நம் தேசத்திலேயே எல்லோராலும் புகழப்படுகிறவர் அவர். அவர் நமக்குத் தலைமை தாங்கி நம்முடன்கூட இம்மண்மிசை நடந்து கொண்டு நம் தேசத்தின் அடிமை தனத்தை போக்கி, நம் தேசத்தின் எழ்மைத்தனத்தைப் போக்கி நம் தேசம் சுதந்திர நாடு என்று நிலைநாட்டியிருக்கிறார் என்றால் அவருக்கு நாம் நன்றியை எவ்வாறு காட்ட முடியும். நன்றிகாட்டவே முடியாது. அவர் நம் நன்றியை எதிர் பார்த்து நமக்கு சுதந்திரத்தை வாங்கிகொடுக்கவில்லை. மழை எப்படி கைமாறு கருதாமல் தேசத்தில் பொழிகிறதோ அம்மாதிரி அவர் கைமாறு கருதாமல் நமக்கு சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்.

“ கைம்மாறு வேண்டா மாறி மாட்டு என்னாற்றும் கொல்லோ உலகு ” என்றும் வள்ளுவனார்க் குறலுக் கொப்ப அவர் நம் கைமாறு கருதாமல் தேசத்தின் விடுதலைக்குப் பாடுபட்டவர். அவரைப் பின்பற்றியே நாம் வந்திருக்கிறோம். சேது பந்தனம் என்ற இராமயண புண்ய கதையில் எப்படி அணில் முதலியவைகள் உடம்பில் மண்ணை போட்டுக்கொண்டு எப்படி உதவி செய்தது என்று ஆசிரியர்களும் அறிவாளிகளும் ஆழ்வார்களும் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்களோ அம்மாதிரியான சேவையைத்தான் நாம் ஒவ்வொருவரும் கொஞ்சம் செய்திருக்கிறோம். மாகாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் அஹிம்சையை அடிப்படை கொள்கையாகக் கொண்டவர். அவரை பின்பற்றும் நம்மில் பலர் அஹிம்சையை ஒரு சாதனமாகக் கொண்டதே ஒழிய அதை ஒரு கொள்கையாகக் கொள்ளவில்லையென்று மேடையில் பேசினதுண்டு. ஆனால் அஹிம்சையை சாதனமாகக்கொண்டேன் என்று தைர்யமாக மேடையில் பேசியவர்களும் உண்டு. இப்பொழுது எப்படி பிரசாரம் செய்தும் அஹிம்சையே என்னுடைய ஆயுதம் என்னுடைய சாதனம் அதுவே என்னுடைய கொள்கை என்று மகாத்மா காந்தி நடத்தி வந்திருக்கிறார். அவரைப் போன்று நாம் எல்லோரும் இந்த அஹிம்சையை சாதனமாகக்கொள்ளாமல் கொள்கையாக கொண்டு அவரை பின்பற்றி வந்திருந்தால் இந்த சுதந்திரம் முன்னாடியே நமக்குச் கிடைத்திருக்கும். இப்பொழுது இந்த சுதந்திர இந்தியாவில் வட நாட்டில் நிலைமை எப்படி இருக்கிறதென்றால் கொலை கொள்ளை களவு கொள்ளி முதலிய சம்பவங்களை நாம் பார்க்கிறோம். அவரை நாம் முன்னாடியே பின்பற்றியிருந்தால் இந்த மாதிரியான சம்பவங்கள் நடக்காது. இப்பொழுது ஆகஸ்டு மாதம் 15-ம் தேதி சுதந்திரமான நாள் என்று கொண்டாடுவதற்கு முக்கியமானவர் மகாத்மா காந்திதான் என்று நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். ஏனென்றால் அரசாங்கத்தார் 1948-ம் வருஷம் ஜூன் மாதம் 30-ம் தேதிக்குள் நாங்கள் வெளியேருகிறோம் என்று பரைசாற்றினார்கள். மகாத்மா காந்தி என்ன சொன்னார் ஏன் 1948-ம் வருஷம் ஜூன் மாதம் வெளியேரவேண்டும் இன்றே போங்கள் இன்றே ஏன் நீங்கள் போகக்கூடாது நீங்கள் போனால்தான் எங்கள் சச்சரவு தீர்ந்து ஒற்றுமை யுண்டாகுமென்று மகாத்மா காந்திதான் சொன்னார். நாம் ஒரு வார்த்தை பேசினோமா ? இங்கே வேறு ஒருவராவது பேசவேண்டுமே ; இல்லவே இல்லை. அவர் ஒருவர்தான் இன்றே போங்கள் என்று சொன்னார். அரசாங்கத்தாரும் அவருடைய பிரசாரத்தால் இன்றே சென்றார்கள். ஆகஸ்ட்டு மாதம் 15-ம் தேதி நம்முடைய தேசத்தை நம்மிடத்தில் ஒப்படைத்தார்கள். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது சில சம்பவங்களை பார்க்கிறோம். இம்மாதிரி சம்பவங்கள் எப்பொழுதும் நடக்கக்கூடியவைதான். இப்பொழுது அல்ல 1948-ம் வருஷம் ஜூன் மாதம்கூட இந்த சம்பவம் நடந்துதான் முடியும். அப்படி நடந்துதான் அடங்கும் என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம். அதிலும் வித்யாசம் இல்லை. ஆகஸ்ட்டு மாதம் 15-ம் தேதி கிடைத்தது **Modified** சுதந்திரம் என்று சொல்லலாம் டொமினியன் அந்தஸ்து என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். டொமினியன் அந்தஸ்து **Independence** க்கு சமானம் என்றும் சமந்தம் என்றும் சொல்லலாம். நமக்கு டொமினியன் அந்தஸ்தை மாற்றிக்கொள்வதற்கு சக்தி இருக்கிறது. எப்படி சொன்னபோதிலும் இந்த டொமினியன் அந்தஸ்தோ **Independence** ஓ நமக்கு வந்

திருப்பது மகாத்மா காந்தியின் முயற்சியால்தான். மகாத்மா காந்தியும் இப்பொழுது (நடக்கும்) வேறுபாட்டினால் நமக்குள் இருக்கும் சச்சரவு கொலை கொள்ளை களவு முதலியவைகள் நின்று விடும்படி செய்து நாம் ஒற்றுமை அடைந்து பூரண சுதந்திரத்தை இந்த பாரத பூமிக்கு தேடி வைக்க அவர் சக்தி வாய்ந்தவர். அவரும் தான் 125 வயது வரையில் இருப்பேன் என்று சொன்னார். அவர் கட்டாயம் இருப்பார். நமக்குள் சச்சரவு ஒழிந்து ஒற்றுமைப்படுத்தி இந்நாட்டை ஒன்றாகச் செய்து இந்த பாரத பூமிக்கு லாகூர் காங்கிரஸ்சில் 1930-ம் வருஷம் தீர்மானம் செய்ததை போல் பூர்ண சுதந்திரம் கொண்டுவந்து வைப்பார் என்றும் இன்னும் மேல் காரியங்களையும் செய்து வைப்பார் என்றும் சொல்லுகிறேன். நான் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை சந்தோஷமாக ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.

"ஆகையால் தலைவர் அவர்களே நான் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழு மனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்." (கரகோஷம்.)

3-30 p.m. MR. PRESIDENT :—"Hon. Members will perhaps agree that this is the only resolution of its type in which I can without any delicacy take part and associate myself. It will be sheer presumption on my part to pay tribute to that great, I would not call him, a man, a great personage, who has been aptly described as the architect of Indian freedom. We know the history of this ancient land. We also know the so-called history of those lands which are said to exist above us, the ethereal regions, and the fights which took place not only on the face of this earth but also between the denizens of those higher regions. Neither in the history of the mundane earth nor in the history of the higher regions we have ever come across such a miracle as this, namely, the smooth passage from slavery to freedom. No doubt it can be said that we are mundane beings, we are not noble in actions and feelings, we are almost denizens of the jungle and so we observe the laws of the jungle. But those superior beings who are said to habitate and live in those higher ethereal regions with much higher nobler ideas, even they are said to have fought for their existence. So I make bold to say that this miracle that has happened in this land on the 15th August is not only unique in this history of this land; it is also unique in the history of even Suras and Asuras. So it is no mean thing that has been achieved, and it is but right that we should express our feelings of gratitude and thankfulness first to Almighty and then to His representative on this land for having brought about this remarkable change in our status and prestige. I therefore have great pleasure in associating myself with this resolution, and I will now put it to the vote of the House."

The resolution was carried *nem con* amidst cheers.

II.—RESOLUTION *RE* ADOPTION OF MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL RULES AS RULES FRAMED UNDER SECTION 84 (1) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935.

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—"Sir, I beg to move that—

'*The Rules for the Madras Legislative Council in force immediately before* 15th *August* 1947 *be adopted as the rules of the House to the extent that they are not repugnant to the provisions of the Indian Independence Act,* 1947, *and the Orders issued thereunder.*'